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# UNFREE CITIZEN

NEWSPAPER OF THE PEOPLES DEMOCRACY

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# WHITE PAPER MEETS LOYALISTS' DEMANDS

# WORLD NEWS

## UGANDA~

# WHERE TORTURE AND THE FIRING-SQUAD ARE THE COST OF PROTEST

Amin

FIRING SQUAD VICTIM

The most recent report issued by the Liberal International Commission of Jurists which investigates official injustics on a fairly large scale, is concerned with Uganda and specifically with its Ruler General Idi Amin. Backed by evidence (both documentary and verbal) gathered over three years of investigation its report shows a country totally controlled by one man, where political opposition does not exist. Amin's expulsion of 50,000 Ugandian Asians in 1972 has been up to now the most publicised event since Amin came to power in 1971 on the back of a British financed coup.

However the events which have occured behind the scenes and received no publicity, have been horrific to say the least. In Kampala alone, Uganda's Capital it is estimated that Amin's personal political police (the 3,000 strong Public Safety Unit) have murdered up to 50,000 people most of whom had no involvement in politics at all. People vanish in the night, their bodies often found later terribly mutilated. Political opposition to Amin's military regime means virtually instant death even to those who would seem to have a degree of unimity by virtue of their personal wealth or position in Ugandan society. In the last year several of Amin's political aides and friends have 'been found' murdered. Even several of the countrie's foreign ambassadors and judges have 'vanished'.

In fact Amin has introduced reign after reign of terror throughout the country, and institutionalised his own particular brand of fascism in order to keep himself in power. Semi-illiterate; he was weened on British militarism from his youth. When it suited Britain's imperialist interests in Africa he was quickly promoted through the ranks of the Ugandan Army to the rank of General and given limited backing by Britain to stage a successful military takeover. As Uganda's new premier Amin soon found himself adopting the tactics he had learnt in the army to deal with problems which faced him all political opposition was immediately crushed.

The Ugandan economy which was in a terrible state with racing inflation and low wages, threatened Amin's position when he came to power. The small trade union movement and political opposition threatened to mobilise mass support for large wage increases and economic stability. Amin could deliver neither. His reaction to this threat however was quick. – Within one year he had managed to buy off most of the Ugandan middle and aspiring middle class by expelling 50,000 Asians and seizing their property and money. His popularity grew as he sold the expropriated capital to Uganda's own middle-class at considerably reduced rates. Workers forgot their wage demands temporarily in a massive propaganda campaign launched against all foreigners and Zionists who it was alledged by Amin were waiting on internal disorder etc. to disrupt the day to day running of Uganda and then launch an invasion against the country. Virtually cut off from the outside world due to the implementation of martial law in the country's cities, Amin had got the breathing space he so desperately needed.

By the time the unfortunate Ugandan workers realised what was going on it was much too late to do anything about it. The trade union movement didn't exist. All those who even dared speak out against Amin and his dictatorship had been removed. Demands for better wages and more food were now couched in whispers.

Amin is now consolidating his position daily and what must be realised is that there is little or no chance of open political opposition alone succeeding in Uganda. The Ugandan people must organise open political opposition and underground political/military opposition simultaneously if they are to succeed in ousting this dictator.

They cannot sit around and wait until another 50,000 people are butchered to serve the political needs of this modern day fascist.

## ARGENTINA~

# NEW PRESIDENT WILL CONTINUE REPRESSION

Juan Peron,now dead,with his wife Isabelita,the new President.

When Juan Peron returned to a hero's welcome from exile in fascist Spain to take over Argentina's Presidency last September, he was hailed by both Left-wing and Right-wing parties alike. Each in turn attempted to curry his favour and at pro-Peron demonstrations gun-fights broke out between Left and Right factions. It didn't take Peron long however to decide who he sided with. Almost immediately clamping down on Left-wing and workers organisations and imprisoning their members, he showed he had learnt quite well the watching Franco's police and troops at work, during his eighteen years of exile.

Peron's reaction was totally predictable however. He did not return to Argentina of his own accord. Supported by the Americans, the Argentinian military asked him to return and try and sort out some of the enormous political and economic difficulties facing the country. They did this because they saw the massive growth of genuine working class organisations in Argentina. Also the growth of Left-wing guerrilla organisations coupled with the disastrous state of the country's economy threatened to topple both them and their U.S. backers from power. So Peron was brought home in an attempt to deal with the guerrilla and workers organisations.

He complied with the military's wishes 100%. He had no intention of giving any support to the Left-wing. Quite suddenly last week he died.

Now his wife, Isabelita has been given the task to complete what her reactionary partner began. Her political position should cause little confusion. She is completely right-wing. The military are backing her to the hilt and as South America's first woman President she promises to give the American imperialists and her backers alike, little in the way of problems.

# BRITISH WHITE PAPER
## LOYALISTS DICTATE THE PACE

The contents of the new White Paper which appeared last Thursday shows two things about the British Government. Firstly, that they are admitting their inability to come up with any sort of a workable solution to the Northern dilemna. This is borne out by the suggestion that all elected representatives to a new "assembly" get around a conference table to work out some sort of compromise method for running the North, and then submit it to the British government for its blessing or rejection.

Although the British will have the final say on the fact of it, as to how the North should be run, this idea of a "constitutional convention" indicates that the British Government instead of dictating events, (like they tried to in the last White Paper) are now at the mercy of the right wingers of the North. This is an important point which we'll go back to shortly.

The second of the two things about the British Goverment, coming from this White Paper is the fact that they have completely capitulated to the demands the U.W.C. made at the time of their strike in May. The whole concept of a Council of Ireland has been abandoned by the British Government to placate the loyalists.

Of course this submission to the Right on the side of the British government should come as no surprise to anyone who opposes British Imperialism and the ideology of the Orange Ascendancy. Remember at the time of the U.W.C. strike how Gerry Fitt & Co. voted to water down the idea of a Council of Ireland, again to placate the U.W.C. as well as to keep a grip on their seats in the Executive? The move didn't work and within 24 hours, the clique had no executive to sit in, as Faulkner ran out of it to prostrate himself in front of the U.W.C. in order to preserve his own personal business interests.

We should be immune to the sell-out tactics of the SDLP by now. It's the only thing that they've been consistent at since they hoodwinked the people into voting for them in 1969 — five years of selling out and back-tracking on promises made to the people.

To briefly summarise the significance of this new White Paper we can see that the British Govt. have given the initiative to the Loyalists by fulfilling most of their demands i.e. 1) No Council of Ireland; 2) New Elections; 3) No power-sharing executive. By doing so they have proved conclusively that if the price of economic stability in the North is the setting up of a right-wing dictatorship rather than any form of democracy, then Britain will lose her 'conscience' to safeguard her profits and end the expense of having her army here.

By giving in to the Loyalist the British Government are supporting and admitting what the Peoples Democracy have maintained all along — i.e. The North was set up to please the adherers to the Orange Ascendancy. By its very nature, it had to be Right Wing to exist. Calling for Reforms was and will always be useless in such a state. It can only exist as an entity if the system is repressive. The British have learned this over the past five years of struggle which is why they are giving in completely to a Loyalist take over.

The only alternative for the North is to dissolve the state completely or else revert back to the Old Stormont regime or a system which would be even more repressive and Right-Wing, an independent Ulster dominated by Loyalists.

Obviously the forces for economic retrogression with the North are stronger than the forces of progression and have won out this round. This is why we have been stressing the need for support from the southern working class if we are to ever achieve a just society for all of the Irish working class.

At the end of the first paragraph we pointed out that Britain was now at the mercy of the right-wingers but only in so far as it suits Britain economically to be in such a position. The British government now see that they will have to court the loyalists to protect British profits in the North.

In effect what this means is that if the Loyalists decide to declare a U.D.I. Britain will not move against them as it would cost too much to maintain direct control of the 6 Co.s and would thus diminish British profits. Instead Britain will do what was done in Rhodesia make mouthings 'abhoring the lack of democracy and how Britain will not trade with them etc. and all the time the business goes on inexhorably.

The new proposed solution, if allowed through can only favour the British and their new fascist allies — it's the same old tune with new words. The British imperialists will always come up with administrative solutions which condemn the people of this country to war and strife until the final POLITICAL solution is forced on them by the united will of the working people of Ireland.

# DUBLIN BUS STRIKE
## CONFUSION GAVE A BOOST TO THE MERCENARIES

For the second time this year the 26 Co. Army were introduced in their role as strike-breakers. Last time it was to scab on the Dublin Corporation electricians, this time on C.I.E. busmen.

As in any public transport strike it was through general exasperation of the thousands that travel by bus each day and who were footsore by the 5th week of the strike, that the army were able to slip in at that crucial stage and pose as the saviours of the people. But it was also through attacks and misrepresentation of the busmen by Press and T.V. which played a major part in the confusion. Playing up interviews with people who have to walk to work, walk to do their shopping etc. gives far from a true picture of a strike. The main hardship caused by a strike falls on the workers involved and on their families.

The effective pressures of any strike are both economic and personal. C.I.E. was hit financially while thousands of Dublin workers were hit personally. But the tendency has been to blame it on the busmen. Somehow C.I.E. got off the hook for any criticism and that has been the most unjust aspect of the last nine weeks along with the leadership of the two unions involves who used the strike as a fighting arena for power.

As with any progressive strike the principle is the right of workers to withdraw their labour as a weapon in the fight for better conditions. Better conditions in the case of the C.I.E. busmen meant a 5-day week. The strike started when the rosters for the new hours of the 5-day week were put up in the depots and busmen for the first time saw the conditions under which they which the 5-day week had been given — 6 days work crammed into 5 days. The 2 unions involved the N.B.U. (National Busmens Union) and the I.T.G.W.U. (Irish Transport and General Workers Union) had originally accepted the conditions for the 5-day week although the rank and file members were extremely confused as to what these conditions were until they appeared on the roster two weeks before the 5-day week was due to begin.

The N.B.U. was formed by former members of the I.T.G.W.U. after that union had failed on several occasions to take a lead in demanding better pay and conditions for busmen. Since then there has been hostility between the two. The issue of the 5-day week has been common ground for joint action of the two unions, ground which has been strengthened over the years because of CIE's refusal to listen to even the recommendations of the Labour Court on the implementation of a 5-day week. But instead of the two unions joining together in support of better conditions for their members the leadership turned it into a power struggle through which only C.I.E. and the government gained.

The issue of the 'dispute' between the unions is extremely bad for the C.I.E.busmen. It is splitting the workers' ranks on an issue which is of great importance to them all. If unity in action against C.I.E. cannot be found by the two Unions' Executives, then the rank and file must organise themselves to work for it.

# A 32~CO. WORKER
# REPUBLIC IS OUR A

The retreat of the middle-class politicians in the fact of Loyalist intransigence has escallated into a virtual stampede. This is nothing new. But much more dangerous is the fact that some Republican and Socialist organisations are tending to be drawn in on the wake of this retreat.

At an early date the SDLP set the pace by betraying every promise they made to the anti-Unionist people. The history of their sell-out on internment, on the RUC, on the rent and rate strike, on the Council of Ireland, etc., has been well documented in the 'Unfree Citizen'.

The Southern Government have equalled and surpassed this despicable record of SDLP cowardice. From 1969 when Jack Lynch refused to lift a finger in defence of the Northern Minority during the August pograms, to the total opposition of the present Southern regime to the very idea of a united Ireland, the pattern has been the same. In the last fortnight we have had the Southern Minister of Foreign Affairs, Garret Fitzgerald, and the State Censor, Conor Cruise O'Brien, coming out firmly against even the concept of a United Ireland.

Garret Fitzgerald in an interview in the 'Irish News' on June 24th said 'It's not going to be possible to find a solution that will satisfy all our aspirations at once'. He then quickly assured the loyalists that he had no intention of asking them to give up their aspirations for a sectarian Protestant State, and that all the giving would have to be done by the minority population by saying: "This is going to mean the Republic accepting things that would not have been acceptable five years ago". His final kick in the teeth for the northern Catholics was to make excuses for loyalist intransigence by saying "THE TROUBLE IS THAT THEY (the majority community) HAVE SUFFERED SO MUCH PHYSICALLY AND MENTALLY OVER THIS PERIOD THAT THEY'RE NOT IN THE MOOD AT PRESENT TO MAKE CONCESSIONS". Possibly Fitzgerald hasn't heard about the suffering of Internment, Bloody Sunday, Sectarian Assassinations, British Army and RUC brutality, which have been directly almost exclusively at the Catholic population in the North. Or could it be that he doesn't know of the 50 years of Loyalist dictatorship in the North during which time the Catholic population have endured brutal pograms, scandalous unemployment, and every form of blatant discrimination.

Conor Cruise O'Brien, never one to be outdone when it comes to licking Britain's boots, announced during an interview on his own private radio station, R.T.E., that in his opinion it was almost illegal for anyone to want a united Ireland. He might allow people to think about it, but certainly talking about it is out!

**Confusion of Republican and Socialist groups**

Among the Republican and Socialist groups a defeatist attitude to the loyalists has always been most obvious. In the Official Republican movement, it has resulted from their slavish adherance to reformist, social-democratic politics. We have for a long time been critical of their attempts to bend over backwards to placate the most reactionary sections of the Protestant working class. We have criticised their attempts to flirt with fascism, their calls for joint UDA/IRA patrols, and their attempts to court loyalist favour by hysterical condemnation of the Provisionals in their anti-imperialist war. These tactics have sown confusion among the anti-unionist working class and are leading increasingly to the disillusionment of many of their own membership. (If you bang your head off a brick wall for long enough, you get a headache – no matter how thick your skull may be!)

Provisional Sinn Fein, because of a lack of clarity and class consciousness in their politics are showing increasing confusion since the loyalist strike. Thus we have the spectacle of certain sections of Sinn Fein tripping over themselves to talk to the UWC while other sections are adamently opposed to such a course. This confusion can be clearly seen by comparison of 'An Phoblacht' and 'Republican News', the former tending in general to be in favour of such talks, whereas the latter tends to change its opinion weekly, one week in favour of talks with the loyalists, and the next week calling them fascists.

The retreat of the middle class parties of the SDLP and the Southern Government in the face of extreme loyalism is only to be expected. These parties have no interest in the working class, other than for votes, and so they have no qualms about delivering the Catholic working class of the North into a fascist Protestant Northern State. If that will mean peace for their big business interests to continue raking in huge profits,

# PATRICK TEER: MURI

**Phil McCullough, Camp PRO**
**Hut 22 – Cage 3,**
**Long Kesh Internment Camp,**
**Lisburn**
**3rd July 1974**

**STATEMENT FOR PUBLICATION**

**RE: PATRICK TEER DECEASED**

When the then leader of the opposition at Westminster Mr. Harold Wilson visited this Camp in Autumn 1971, his comments afterwards were: "A very grim place" . . . "The sooner it is closed the better". Today this man and alleged Socialist, is now Prime Minister of Britain, and there still remains here in Ireland that very same "grim place", but with one grim exception. Yestreday the 2nd July 1974, a lad named Patrick Teer from Westrock Ave., Belfast, became a victim of Harold Wilson's administration in Long Kesh Camp. He was not assassinated by the right wing elements or British Army firepower, but by the vile and barbaric nature of the British policy of Internment without trial in such a 'grim place' as Long Kesh.

We the Camp Council challenge the lie spewed out by Colonel Sillitoe and his public relations henchmen at the N.I. Office that Patrick Teer 'died' as they claim. Patrick was MURDERED by the system. Three months ago, Patrick was interned without Trial by overlord Merlyn Rees. He had no previous medical history or illnesses. On Wednesday 26th June 1974, he reported ill to the Camp doctor with what he believed to be ear trouble. He received the usual 'off the cuff' treatment, namely an anti-biotic called 'Penbritin'. Patrick remained ill despite the table treatment.

At mid-day Sunday 30th, June 1974 he was so ill that he had to confine himself to the Medical Cage. Despite the size of this Camp, several square mile in diameter, and containing almost 2,000 men, there never has been a permanent doctor attached to it. The Medical Cage contains two small Nissen huts surrounded by the usual barbed wire and mesh fence. One Nissen hut is used for dispensary and doctor use, and the other for the confinement of sick Internees who are locked up for 21 hours per day. Because of the shortage of manpower within the Prison Officers Association, there are insufficient traine medical personnel leaving the treatment and care of Internee patients to unqualified orderlies.

Despite the very obvious pain and torment which Patrick was undergoing at the time, a qualified Doctor was not requested by the Prison Officers in charg but they did state that one would possibly be available 'sometime that day'. Patrick received pain relieving tablets. After two agonizing hours the doctor eventually arrived at the Camp. Patrick was still screaming and moaning with pain. On examination Dr. Hall stated that he believed that Patrick had Jaundi He was again left to endure this pain for another two hours until an orderly arrived to give him an injection which calmed him down but left him with a great thirst.

in the way of problems.

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AIM

then they will accept it.

The confusion among the Republican and Socialist groups is much more dangerous and must be removed. To retreat at this time, to fail to carry through what we set out to achieve would be a major set back for the whole of the Irish working class.

The position of Peoples Democracy is clear and unambiguous. The UWC, UFF, UVF and other assorted orange backwoodsen are imbued with a fascist ideology. Whatever their talk about their working class membership, their actions have been totally reactionary.

There can be no compromise with fascism. The anti-imperialist groups must destroy it, or by destroyed by it. We believe that the 6-County state cannot be reformed. The only solution can come about through the creation of an all Ireland Republic. This will only be achieved by clarity of purpose and unity of action among the groups in the North in the face of fascist aggression, and by support from the working class in the south. There must be no retreat.

# INTERNMENT MUST BE SMASHED

**Billy Kennedy, a married man with a wife and 6 children was arrested in June 1971 and charged with "possession of arms". He was found guilty and was given a sentence of 12 years. When he appealed the conviction he won and was declared a free man. His "freedom" lasted from the moment he walked from the dock to the front steps of the courthouse,where he was met by members of the British Army and promptly taken into custody again!**

**An internment order was signed and Billy Kennedy has been in Long Kesh ever since. For the past three years since Billy entered the hell-hole his wife Mary has had to bring up their 6 children single-handed. Of their six children, the two eldest, Paddy 15 and Willie 13, were adopted by the Kennedy's when they were left parentless after a car crash. The youngest child is 7 years old.**

**As well as having to look after the children Mary has had to travel weekly to the Kesh. Despite her burdens Mary has worked tirelessly in the Divis Flats complex to improve social conditions for all the people there. She co-founded the adventure playground in the Flats and has organised outings and holidays for the old and handicapped people of the area. Although suffering from a kidney complaint Mary has been doing this for over four years. Recently she had to have one of her kidneys removed.**

**On Monday May 13th at 6.00 a.m. the British Army burst into the Kennedy home and took Mary away leaving the children alone until 2.00 p.m. that afternoon. She was locked up in Armagh prison and was brought up in front of the sham commission on June 24th, a surprisingly short period of time since she was first detained and a further proof that the Kennedy family are being victimised more than most other people in the anti-Unionist ghettoes. However, the commission re-detained her, which in effect, means that no-one knows when Mary or Billy will ever be released.**

**Since Mary's internment, three social workers, whom she has worked with over the years, are looking after the children. But this cannot go on indefinitely because the Local Authorities say that because they are not related to the family they have no right to look after the children. This means the children will have to be put into a children's home. To oppose the dictates of the Local Authorities will result in the suspension of the state benefits the children are in receipt of now; to give into this body means the breaking up of the children with the unpredictable effects this will have on them.**

**This case of the Kennedy's is a perfect example of how the whole state system is geared towards the complete repression and maximum hardship of all those who dare to speak out against it. The only solution to this corrupt regime that is in existence in the North is to destroy it completely to ensure that there's no such thing as internment, faceless local authorities and therest of the attributes of the Northern administration.**

**We support all the protests surrounding the plight of Mary Kennedy but that is not to say that in highlighting Mary's case we are implying that all the rest of the internees, both men and women, should be kept inside or that there is any justification whatsoever for them being there. We are totally opposed to Internment and see the Kennedy's case as yet one more reason for it's total abolition.**

# DERED BY THE SYSTEM

If indeed Dr. Hall did believe that Patrick Teer had contacted jaundice, then why was he not sent immediately to outside hospital? At 5 o'clock the same day Dr. Hall who had to examine two new arrivals called with Patrick who had by now once again lapsed into severe pain and was again screaming. That evening at lock-up the duty orderly produced two sleeping tables which Patrick did not respond to as all this time he was reeling in agony. The orderly was sent for several times throughout the night but only felt the patient's pulse. It was demanded to him that Patrick be removed to hospital as it was very plain even to a layman that Patrick was dangerously ill. The Prison Officer on duty agreed, but stated that he had no authority to do so.

At 7 a.m. 1st July 1974 Patrick received another injection but this made little difference to his condition. The orderly confined himself to the taking of Patrick's pulse for a long time. At 8 a.m. Patrick's heart stopped and the untrained Prison Officer orderly commenced to massage his heart but to no effect. A doctor who did arrive did manage to revive him, some minutes later. The local camp priest was sent for but his entrance was fefused by the British Military on duty at the gate. The Cardiac Emergency Unit had arrived by this time and Patrick was taken via Lagan Valley Hospital to the RVH Intensive Care Unit Belfast. Patrick lost his life the following day.

We the Camp Council have during this past three long years, repeatedly demanded a change in the procedure in which a man, if wishing to report sick must register his name in a book the night before if he requires the service of a doctor. We have highlighted and screamed at the tops of our voices what the inevitable consequences would result in if proper medical facilities were not forthcoming. We have attempted to impress upon various people the damaging effect which life confined to a wire cage, crammed Nissen hut accommodation and repeated Military brutalities against Internees would have on the short term and long term. We were not listened to. Whilst politicians of all shades sing their platitudes to us regarding their pseudo concern at the British Government's failure to end Internment without trial, we the men behind the wire sing the requiem lament to our lost comrade Patrick Teer because of their inaction regarding the Internment question.

Patrick Teer must not be followed by others. We the Camp Council demand from Merlyn Rees an immediate public inquiry into the Medical arrangements at this camp. The reason why a priest of Patrick Teer's religious denomination was prevented by armed Military guards from giving him the last rites of his church. An inquiry into the effects which internment without trial in such a barbaric and hostile environment as Long Kesh has on the men interned there.

END OF STATEMENT

Signed: Phil McCullough

4% in 1972. On the other hand

# "CONSPIRACY"

## 9 U.D.A. MEN GET 2 YEARS, I.R.A. GET 8

One of the most dangerous developments in the British legal system over the past few years has been the increasing use of the laws against conspiracy. The main point of the conspiracy laws is not that you are charged with committing an illegal act, but that you talked about or planned to do something illegal. A Conspiracy trail then becomes a purely political trial, the evidence being not what you did or did not do but instead it is what you talk about, who your friends are, what you believe in. Your political views become part of the 'evidence' against you.

This law has become a more and more effective weapon of the ruling class over the past few years. In conjunction with a greatly expanded secret police – the Special Branch – it has been used to jail English socialists and trade union militants. It has also been used savagely against supporters of Irish republicanism.

The case of the Coventry Seven shows how effective this Act can be. Father Fell, a Coventry priest, and a group of his parishioners were charged with Conspiracy. The evidence against them consisted of the fact that they held meetings about Northern Ireland, that Father Fell had documents and maps, that they had campaigned for aid for Northern Ireland and that they had been heard to talk generally about bank robberies.

For these henious crimes they were sentenced to an average of 8 years in jail.

Let us examine also the case of the Luton Three. The evidence against them was that one of them had a shotgun, that they were all members of Sinn Fein, that they had been active in support of the Irish struggle, that they had talked of forming an IRA unit and of bank robberies. Two were sentenced to 9 years. The third Kenneth Lennon was set free, and was later shown to have been an agent provocateur in the pay of the Special Branch.

But surely the law is impartial? The sentences may be savage, the evidence may be vague, but surely this applies to all cases? – Let us examine the case of the 9 U.D.A. men tried on conspiracy. The case arose out of pictures in the English Press showing armed U.D.A. men training in Yorkshire. The men were shown drilling with modern weapons including rifles and sten guns. They were charged with conspiracy and were brought to court. This time the evidence was not vague. There was the collection of weapons and the fact that the 9 men pleaded GUILTY to the charge. They received a sentence of – 2 years each.

This isn't an isolated case. Charles Harding-Smith, Chairman of the U.D.A. was caught with some of his followers trying to import £500,000 worth of arms. He was found not guilty.

The reason for this travesty of justice can be seen in the defence offered by the lawyer for the 9 U.D.A. men. He said that these men **were not subversives.** They were Loyalists and had acted as they had **out of a feeling of intense loyalty for the Queen and the British way of life.** The light sentences show that the Judge accepted the argument.

This shows clearly what Marxists have always said. Under our present legal system there is only one unforgivable crime – the crime of opposing and trying to take power from the small group of money men who own and control the wealth of Ireland and Britain.

We in the Peoples Democracy are guilty of that crime. We hope more and more people will join us in our guilt.

# THE BOWLER-HAT TERRORISTS

Every day television screens bombard us with propaganda from the professional pacifists of the British and Irish ruling classes. The latest target of the Cruise O'Briens and the Cosgraves is 'ALL men of violence' – drawing no distinctions between revolutionary fighters and sectarian thugs.

One of the chief targets of the propagandists is the campaign of economic bombing. It ignored the fact that the campaign is waged against property and not people, that it diverts the manpower of the British army to guarding duties and away from their main job of oppressing anti-unionist workers. And that it costs the British millions of pounds. The propagandists' only concern is that the explosions are being caused by 'men of violence'.

With this in mind it is worth examining the blast in the Nypo Chemicals Plant at Flixborough last month. The blast was one of the biggest explosions ever in the British Isles. It was in the "Kiloton" range, the equivalent of one thousand TONS of T.N.T. and with the same force as a tactical Nuclear weapon.

The blast was heard 30 miles away. **It killed 29 workers; flattened the 20 acre site; devestated the nearby village of Flixborough and injured another 100 people.** After the explosion a huge cloud of poisonous gas rolled across the countryside.

This devastation was not caused by 'mad bombers' or by 'men of violence'. It was caused by a 'respectable company' going about it's normal business of making a profit.

A white-wash enquiry has been set up by the British government. Already it's inquiries have narrowed down to the welding in of a 2 ft. diameter pipe. The report of the inquiry will be published shortly. It will serve only to confuse and cover up the real issue involved. Imagine heating petrol in a pressure-cooker on a red-hot stove. Well this is similar to the process carried out at the chemical plant at Flixborough. The dangers involved are perfectly obvious. Yet no adequate precautions were taken and workers who worked in the factory and took the risks did so in the interests of profit for their employers.

The "Nypo" board were prepared to run an uncontrollable process with the explosive power of a small atomic bomb. And processes just as dangerous are carried out all over Britain and Ireland. It may be possible to attain safety in these factories but this would involve great expense and has always been of secondary importance in a world where profit comes first.

We might be disgusted by the hypocricy of Cosgrave and Cruise O'Brien when they attack the 'men of violence' while supporting the presence of the British Army in the North and using their own army and police force to jail republicans. **How much greater should our disgust and anger be when we see that they do it in defence of capitalism and imperialism – in defence of a system which every day endangers millions of workers lives in factories and mines, and condemns their families to lives of misery and ill-health in slums.**

Aftermath of the blast at Flixborough

This article which will be appearing in Unfree Citizen in 2 parts was written by a group of Internees in Long Kesh. These men have spent several months discussing politics and their political ideas with each other and have now formulated their conclusions on Imperialism in Ireland into this article.

They asked P.D. to publish their article and we welcome it as a Marxist analysis, far more revolutionary than Eire Nua,on the root cause of imperialism in Ireland.

# PART 2

# BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN IRELAND

## BY A GROUP OF LONG KESH INTERNEES

The nationalist ideology in Ireland proved beneficial to the middle classes more than any other social class. The first Dail *1919 was composed of 65% urban professional middle class, 25% owners of property and 10% farmers. The actions and attitudes of the provisional Government and the IRA reflected the interests of those elements making up the Dail, as opposed to the interests of the Irish people as a whole. One lamentable example of this was manifested when workers in a Limerick mill occupied it, displaying a banner in front of it saying "We make bread not profit". They were evited and the banner was removed by members of the I.R.A. acting under instructions from Dail Eireann.

Acceptance and rejection of the Treaty split the country along clear social lines. Those who accepted were in the main the middle classes and those whose money interests were best served by peace at England's price. Those who rejected the Treaty were workers and small farmers who were subsequently subjected by the Free State government to ruthless and brutal repression, aided by British arms. The ending of the Civil War, to the mutual satisfaction of England and the Irish middle class, heralded a period in which the latter attempted to ascert their claims to national independence in economic terms.

So, we have the situation where Irish exploiters attempted to replace the British exploiters and the method they chose was Protectionism. Irish industry couldn't hope to compete against it's British counterpart. Protectionism was designed to break or at least weaken the ties of dependency with England. This policy was followed for almost fifty years through successive 26 Co. governments and failed to a large degree, because the Irish bourgoisie were reluctant to invest their capital in sufficient quantity in Irish industries and ventures. In economic terms, protectionism failed. It did have the effect of increasing net output of manufactured goods from 18% in 1926 to 28% in 1938 but this was offset by a 20% decline in agricultural output during the same period. Employment in industry increased, but failed to offset the level of rural emigration with the result that unemployment and emigration figures remained the highest in Europe. For a dependent nation, attempting to assert itself against an imperialist power Protectionism is designed to serve two purposes:

1. To decrease dependence upon the imperial power by lessening the trading dependence upon it. This is generally attempted by a process of building up native industry and encouraging investment in such industry.
2. In internal political terms, protection of industry is designed to strengthen and if possible develop the national bourgeoisie who should form the ruling elite. Protectionism should also lead to a solution of the land question by encouraging the siting of industry in rural areas and gain the allegiance of the working class by increasing employment in industry.

Protectionism in Ireland failed to bring about any of these changes. The Irish bourgeoisie realised that abandoning protection in itself was not sufficient to revive their flagging fortunes and that some way of stimulating industrial growth must be found. An open invitation to foreign capitalists to come to Ireland and exploit almost at will, was given. The package contained freedom from company taxation, other tax reliefs, cash grants, depreciation grants and long-term loans.

It was pointed out by the I.D.A. – the Government agency entrusted with selling Ireland – that there was a large pool of unemployed willing to work for low wages. Needless to say, there was an upsurge in foreign investment. It is at this point that the course was set in a change of imperialist involvement in Ireland. From the fifties on foreign capitalists have been coming to Ireland in ever-increasing numbers, to avail themselves of the money-making facilities extended to them by the Irish bourgeoisie, who are intent only on making profits of their own at the expense of the Irish working class. British investment in the 26 counties has fallen from 20% of total foreign investment in the sixties to a mere 4% in 1972. On the other hand U.S.A. firms have an added incentive to invest in Ireland as it offers easy access to the EEC countries as well as what has been described as a "tax free paradise". Another and more dangerous type of American firm is beginning to show an interest in siting plants in Ireland – industries with pollution problems, who fall foul of anti-pollution legislation in their own countries are coming here and are at present polluting much of the South West coast of Ireland.

The new face of imperialism in Ireland is that of large technology and high capital intensity units, supplying fewer and fewer jobs while extracting vast profits. One U.S. firm is reputed to have made a profit of 18 million dollars on sales of 25 million dollars (Guardian 1973) – due to low wage rates and tax free status. All of these profits are exported, which again leads indirectly to inflationary pressures on the Irish economy. The abolition of tariff barriers has led to an inevitable decline in native industry, unable to compete with cheaper imports. The level of redundancies continues to rise, as the ability of the economy to re-absorb them decreases. This vicious double edged weapon, whose victims are the Irish working class is the direct result of the integration of the Irish economy into the World imperialist system.

Continued on page three

# UNFREE CITIZEN

We believe that the fascist led loyalist forces in the North must be faced up to – not backed away from or compromised with – and that requires maximum unity of the anti-Imperialist working class on a 32-county basis.

To build this unity over the coming months is our aim, and we intend to direct all our activities to that end. To do this we must expand our membership and the circulation of 'Unfree Citizen' particularly in the South. This is where you the reader can help. At present we reach approximately 18,000 people each week. That must be at least doubled. We ask you to place an order for three to six copies each week and sell them to your friends or workmates.

That's a very small contribution to the struggle as a whole but it still requires self-discipline and overall it is of great importance.

Again we say, it is you our supporters and our readers whose interests the building of a revolutionary party in Ireland serves.

Write to us for some papers today or send a subscription to one of our addresses.

# BRITISH FIRE ON CIVILIANS AT NEWRY BORDER

On Sunday 7th June there was yet another "incident" on the border near Newry. But this time the attackers were British Army khaki and the targets were civilians – day trippers going to and from the Omeath seaside resort. At the B.A. checkpoint near the border on the Fathom Road, traffic was being deliberately held up – the Brits had confined it to one lane only and had only one man doing the searching of all cars. People began to get annoyed however – for most were on their way home – when the queue had built up to almost a mile.

Many left their cars to protest at the deliberate delay but had hardly got within hearing distance of the officer in charge when he ordered his men to open fire. Live rounds were fired over the heads of the people and forced them to end their protest.

Such 'crowd-control' tactics the Brits know well – they have made use of them right through their hundreds of years of occupation in Ireland. The most frightening example was in Derry on Bloody Sunday – only then the shots were fired into the crowd.

But the 45th Marines, the Regiment responsible for the shooting, will find that they won't be let off too easily by the people of Newry. The 'Marines' have only been there a few days but haven't learnt the bitter lesson every other regiment that has served in the area (including the Paras) has been taught. The anti-Unionist people of Newry have been solid in their support for the struggle against British imperialism and its troops. Their determination has not been shaken or disillusioned by the deaths of many of their people at the hands of the British Army and it certainly will not be shaken by any arrogant display of terror by heavily armed troops against unarmed civilians.

## THE PEOPLES DEMOCRACY – What we stand for

**The People's Democracy is a revolutionary socialist organisation, fighting for the establishment of a 32-County Workers Republic in Ireland. In that fight we have learned through our experience of the struggle in the North that there can be no progress made until the age-old problem of the domination and exploitation of Ireland by British imperialism is settled.**

**We therefore support the war of resistance against British control in the North and have agitated and will continue to agitate, to back up that war – north and south.**

**Because both states, north and south, are capitalist controlled we recognise that the 26-Co. government – and indeed all the Leinster House Politicians – support Britain in the continuation of partition in Ireland and actively promote this by their policy of repression in the 26 Cos.**

**Consequently we see that the Struggle for National Liberation and Socialism must be fought here as well.**

**Our activity is based on our experience and Marxist analyses of the situation in Ireland. We consider the anti-imperialist struggle should be fought to gain the support of the working-class people of Ireland and the People's Democracy pledge themselves to achieving through the struggle for National Liberation – a Workers Republic of Ireland.**

# STARRY PLOUGH BADGES

"Starry Plough Badges"
For the past year our Starry Plough badges have been out of stock but we now have a new supply. These badges are all individually hand-made in Ireland. They can be had from paper sellers or from the Connolly Bookshop.
**Price 25p or 28p post paid**

# P.D. BOOKS

**"Songs from the Barricades"**
published by Peoples Democracy, has a selection of 26 of the most popular street ballads based on the Irish struggle up to the present day. Included are such songs as "Jack Lynch's Army", "Bogside Man", "Broad Black Brimmer", "Tom Williams", "Over the Wall", etc. etc.
**Price 25p; or 31p post paid from Connolly Bookshop**

**"Blood in the Street"**
There are only a few copies of this book left. This is an account of the events of Bloody Sunday by two eye witnesses Fulvio Grimaldi and Susan North.
**Price 40p; or 48p post paid from Connolly Bookshop**

**"Behind the Wire"**
Coming out next week is this pamphlet which deals with the personal accounts of life in British prison and concentration camps in Northern Ireland by two members of Peoples Democracy. Phil Mc Cullagh describes the mind-wrecking boredom and terror of the daily routine in Long Kesh where he has been interned without trail since August 1971. Michael Farrell describes the course of his and Tony Canavan's hunger strike ordeal in Crumlin Road Jail while sentenced on a trumped up charge of breaking a law that only Orange and UDA men are allowed to break.
**Order now from Unfree Citizen sellers or from Connolly Bookshop.**

**"Battle for Algeria"**
The story of the Algerian fight for Independence, how the Algerian people won political freedom from the French Colonialists after a long and bitter struggle very similar to that which is being waged in Ireland against Britain to-day. The book, written by P.D. member Michael Farrell, concludes with a chapter on the similarities between the Algerian and Irish situations.
**Price 15p; or 21p post paid from Connolly Bookshop.**

**"Struggle in the North"**
The first edition of this pamphlet produced and published by P.D. was issued in 1969, the second in 1972. It covers the background to the present conflict in Ireland and deals with the various stages of the struggle from 1969–1972. It is essential reading to anyone wishing to understand the present situation.
**Price 15p; or 21p post paid from Connolly Bookshop**

## UNFREE CITIZEN

*"Unfree Citizen"* **£3 per year**
**£1.50 per 6 mts.**

## Starry Plough Flags

*FLAGS:* **Full size 'Starry Ploughs' 5' x 3' – £1.00**

**"This is Free Belfast"**
This long playing record of the songs of the barricades is now available.
**Price £2 or £2.18 post paid from Connolly Bookshop.**

**PLEASE CROSS ALL CHEQUES OR POSTAL ORDERS**

# JOIN P.D. NOW

If you are interested in joining the People's Democracy and fighting for a Socialist 32 County Republic, fill in the form below and send it to:
*Belfast:* Connolly Bookshop, Avoca Park, Andersonstown Rd. Belfast 11.

*London:* Patrick Doherty, 34 Dalston Lane, London E8.

NAME: .....

ADDRESS: .....

.....

# DUBLIN ADDRESS

**We have moved from our address at 5, Albert Place West Dublin. At the moment we are renovating a new premises and we would ask those sending correspondence to direct ti to CONNOLLY BOOK SHOP Avoca Park, Andersonstown, Belfast 11.**